Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 L-02 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SAJ-01 PM-03 MBFR-02 IO-03

ACDA-10 DODE-00 PRS-01 PA-01 USIA-04 OMB-01 EB-03

RSR-01 /078 W

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R 091739Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6777

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: GW, GE, PFOR

SUBJECT: FRG/GDR RELATIONS: FRG CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL

LOOKS AHEAD

- 1. SUMMARY: AT LUNCH WITH EMBOFF ON AUGUST 9, FRG CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL INVOLVED IN FRG/GDR RELATIONS GAVE HIS ESTIMATE OF LIKELY COURSE OF RELATIONSHIP IN COMING MONTHS, PARTICULARLY THE PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING PERMANENT MISSIONS IN EAST BERLIN AND BONN. HE ALSO ADDRESSED MATTER OF DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN TIMING OF UK AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS' ARRIVAL IN EAST BERLIN. END SUMMARY.
- 2. CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL SAID THAT WORKING LEVELS OF CHANCELLERY, FONOFF AND INNER-GERMAN MINISTRY HAD BEEN PREPARING FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF BAHR-KOHL CONFIDENTIAL

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TALKS EXPECTED FOR THE LAST DAYS IN AUGUST. ALL

EXPECTED THAT THE PERMANENT MISSIONS WOULD BE THE CENTRAL TOPIC OF THE TALKS. THE GENERAL FEELING ON THE FRG SIDE IS THAT THE GDR WILL COME TO THESE TALKS PREPARED INITIALLY TO BE DIFFICULT AND POSSIBLY EVEN OBNOXIOUS AND MAY GO BACK ON SOME OF THE REASONABLE POSITIONS THEY TOOK IN JUNE (BERLIN 8885 AND 8987).

- 3. FRG THINKING IS BASED ON THE BELIEF THAT THE GDR WILL BE MOST UNHAPPY WITH SOME FORMULATIONS IN THE FRG CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DECISION ON THE GERMAN RELA-TIONS TREATY (BONN 10905) AND, THUS, KOHL CAN BE EXPECTED TO GIVE FORTH WITH A BLAST AT THE NEXT MEETING WITH BAHR. FURTHERMORE, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THE GDR IS IN NO REAL HURRY ON THE MISSIONS AND, IN ANY EVENT, MAY WANT TO MOVE SLOWLY SIMPLY TO SHOW THE FED-ERAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH ITSELF HAS DRAGGED ITS HEELS IN THE PAST ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE INNER-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS, THAT THE EAST GERMANS TOO CAN PLAY THE DELAYING GAME. FINALLY, THERE IS A GENERAL FEELING ON THE WEST GERMAN SIDE THAT THE GDR WILL WANT TO HAVE A SIGNIFICANT PERIOD BETWEEN THE UN ENTRY OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSIONS IN BONN AND EAST BERLIN TO MAKE CLEAR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO STEPS AND THEREBY TO REBUT THE FRG LINKAGE OF THE TWO.
- 4. ALL OF THIS LEADS THE WEST GERMAN WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS TO CONCLUDE THAT THE MISSIONS WILL NOT GO INTO OPERATION UNTIL LATE FALL OR EVEN EARLY WINTER. FRG PERMANENT MISSION CHIEF-DESIGNATE GAUS IS EVEN SAID TO CONSIDER THAT NOTHING WILL BE DONE FINALLY UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF 1974.
- 5. OUR SOURCE SAID THAT IF THE GDR TAKES A DIFFICULT POSITION IN THE BAHR-KOHL TALKS IN AUGUST AND EVEN SEPTEMBER, THE PRESENT FRG PLAN (YET WITHOUT APPROVAL BY BAHR WHO IS ON VACATION) IS TO STONEWALL AND LET THE GDR PIQUE DISSIPATE ITSELF AND NOT TO GET INTO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS UNTIL THE GDR SIDE SHOWS IT IS READY TO DO SO. SOME ON THE FRG WORKING LEVEL HOPE CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT THE SOVIETS MAY PUSH THE GDR TO SETTLE MATTERS QUICKLY SO AS TO HAVE THE CSCE AND MBFR FALL NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE IN AS NORMAL AN ATMOSPHERE OF EASTWEST DISCUSSION AS POSSIBLE.

6. THE CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL SAID ONE FURTHER PLUS ON THE FRG SIDE WHICH MIGHT CAUSE THE GDR TO MOVE MORE QUICKLY ON THE MISSIONS' MATTER THAN MOST EXPERTS

THOUGHT WAS THE BARGAINING CHIP THE FRG POSSESSED IN THE FORM OF OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS OVER THE FRG FOR INTERFLUG TO FLY WESTWARD. OUR CONTACT THOUGHT THE GDR WAS SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN THIS ITEM AND MIGHT THEREFORE BE PREPARED TO COMMENCE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT REACHING A CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT EARLY IN THE FALL. THE FRG MIGHT THEN USE THIS INTEREST TO OBTAIN EARLY MOVEMENT ON THE MISSIONS.

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R 091739Z AUG 73 FM AMEMBASSY BONN TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6778 INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY MOSCOW AMEMBASSY PARIS USMISSION BERLIN

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7. TURNING BRIEFLY TO THE CIVIL AIR QUESTION, OUR SOURCE TOLD US THAT THE FRG NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR THE CIVIL AVIATION TALKS IS STILL FAR FROM COMPLETE AND THAT THE MINISTRIES INVOLVED HAVE NOT DONE THE NECESSARY WORK IN RECENT MONTHS. HE THOUGH BAHR MIGHT INDUCE SOME ACTION IN THIS AREA AFTER HIS RETURN. THE CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL WAS OF THE VIEW THAT BAHR,

WHO HAD LITTLE TO DO THESE DAYS, WOULD PROBABLY HANDLE THE CIVIL AVIATION NEGOTIATIONS MUCH AS HE HAD HANDLED THE TRANSIT TRAFFIC AGREEMENT WITH THE GDR, I.E. KEEPING TIGHT CONTROL HIMSELF ON THE TALKS AND ALLOWING EXPERTS ONLY A MARGINAL ROLE.

8. ASKED HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS RESPONDING TO THE UK PRESSURE TO HAVE AN AMBASSADOR IN EAST BERLIN IN EARLY FALL, OUR SOURCE SAID THE FRG WAS NOW LOOKING FOR A WAY TO LET FONMIN SCHEEL CLIMB DOWN FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITION THE FONOFF HAD PUT HIM IN, I.E. THAT THREE WESTERN AMBASSADORS NOT ARRIVE IN EAST BERLIN BEFORE THE FRG MISSION CHIEF. THE CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL SAID THAT ONE POSSIBLE WAY OUT MIGHT BE FOR THE FRG AND GDR TO ANNOUNCE IN LATE SEPTEMBER THAT THEIR MISSIONS WOULD BE OPENED WITHIN A FEW MONTHS (OR WITHIN A SET TIME IF THE FRG COULD GET THIS); THEN THE FONOFF COULD INFORM THE WESTERN ALLIES THAT IT CONSIDERED THE WAY CLEAR FOR THEM TO SEND THEIR AMBASSADORS TO EAST BERLIN.

9. COMMENT: THE FRG WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS RESPON-SIBLE FOR INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS ARE OBVIOUSLY GEAR-ING UP FOR AN ACTIVE FALL AND CLEARLY EXPECT BAHR TO RETURN FROM VACATION READY TO PUSH AHEAD ON THE MISSIONS' ESTABLISHMENT AND POSSIBLY CIVIL AVIATION QUESTIONS. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, WE WILL BE PROB-ING FRG REPS IN EARLY BONN GROUP TO GIVE US SOME IDEA OF THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITION ALTHOUGH WE TEND TO BELIEVE OUR SOURCE'S COMMENTS RE THE LACK OF SUCH A POSITION ON THE FRG SIDE. WE BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY FOR US TO HAVE THE WEST GERMAN THINKING ON THE TIMING OF THEIR CIVIL AIR TALKS AT THE VERY LEAST BEFORE WE DECIDE ON WHEN TO APPROACH THE SOVIETS ON GETTING LUFTHANSA INTO WEST BERLIN. WE OBVIOUSLY CANNOT GET TOO FAR AHEAD OF THE GERMANS IN THIS AREA. HILLENBRAND

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